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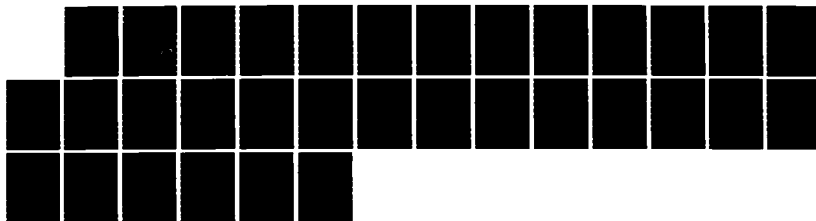
LANGUAGE AND COMMUNITY IN ORNELL'S ANGLO-INDIA AND IN  
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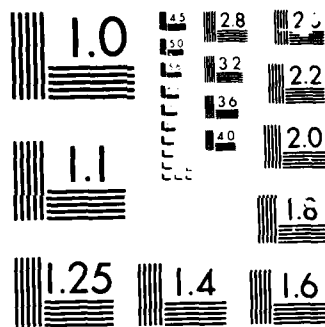
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Language and Community in Orwell's Anglo-India and in 1984

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Final report: May 1986

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A thesis submitted to the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE		READ INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE COMPLETING FORM
1. REPORT NUMBER	2. GOVT ACCESSION NO. <b>A169572</b>	3. RECIPIENT'S CATALOG NUMBER
4. TITLE (and Subtitle) Language and Community in Orwell's Anglo-India and in <u>1984</u>		5. TYPE OF REPORT & PERIOD COVERED Final--May 1986
		6. PERFORMING ORG. REPORT NUMBER
7. AUTHOR(s) CPT Anthony William Harriman		8. CONTRACT OR GRANT NUMBER(s)
9. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS Student, HQDA, MILPERCEN (DAPC-OPA-E) 200 Stovall Street, Alexandria, VA 22332		10. PROGRAM ELEMENT, PROJECT, TASK AREA & WORK UNIT NUMBERS
11. CONTROLLING OFFICE NAME AND ADDRESS HQDA, MILPERCEN, ATTN: DAPC-OPA-E 200 Stovall Street Alexandria VA 22332		12. REPORT DATE May 1986
		13. NUMBER OF PAGES 27
14. MONITORING AGENCY NAME & ADDRESS (if different from Controlling Office)		15. SECURITY CLASS. (of this report) UNCLASSIFIED
		15a. DECLASSIFICATION/DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE
16. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of this Report)  Approved for public release; distribution unlimited.		
17. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of the abstract entered in Block 20, if different from Report)		
18. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES Thesis University of Virginia		
19. KEY WORDS (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number) George Orwell    communal language    "Politics and the 1984               formulaic phraseology    English Language" Newspeak        orthodox/unorthodox speech Anglo-India <u>Burmese Days</u>		
20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number) see reverse		

"Language and Community in Orwell's Anglo-India and in 1984" examines George Orwell's portrayal of the languages used by the administrative elite in the Anglo-India of Burmese Days and by the party in the totalitarian England of 1984. Orwell portrays the languages of the Anglo-Indian administrative elite and the totalitarian rulers of 1984's England as communal speeches, used to identify the self to others as an orthodox member of the ruling group rather than to communicate objectively. Because both groups use communal speech to signify group loyalty, its ability to carry objective information is limited. To the members of both groups, unconventional phrasing implies individual thought, hence unorthodox or disloyal thought. Orwell uses Florey's experience in Burmese Days and Winston's experience in 1984 to explore the basis upon which an individual might move beyond the communal language of a governing elite towards a language capable of framing individual thought. Oddly, Orwell finds the language best suited to individual thought to be a communal language itself: the language of proletarian London in 1984.

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Language and Community in Orwell's Anglo-India  
and in 1984

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B.S., United States Military Academy, 1978

A Thesis Presented to the Graduate  
Faculty of the University of Virginia  
in Candidacy for the Degree of  
Master of Arts

Department of English  
University of Virginia  
May 1986

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For much of his life, George Orwell believed that the lower classes smelled (The Road to Wigan Pier 128). Although he is the first to condemn his belief as simply a class prejudice taught him in his youth, the class lessons of his youth became class instincts which distorted his view of reality as an adult. In The Road to Wigan Pier, he remembers it was many years before his instinctual judgments began to conform to those of his intellect (143). Speaking of Burma and mornings he spent marching in the company of English private soldiers, Orwell recalls that the smell of their sweat made him "sick," although he knew them as clean as military discipline could make them (Wigan Pier 143).

In other words, what Orwell knew to be true about the soldiers conflicted with his "gut feeling". The cliché is valuable here because it suggests that a second seat of judgment sometimes competes with the intellect. While watching the soldiers, Orwell made two judgments: a considered judgment--an intellectual examination that led him to conclude the soldiers were clean, and an unthinking judgment--one prompted by the sight of the soldiers but guided to a different conclusion by an ingrained pattern of feeling. Orwell found the implications of his experience disturbing. He sensed that his language, particularly because it was characteristic of his class,



was implicated in both the valid and the erroneous judgments: namely, that his intellect conducted business in it and that he learned the class lessons of his youth from it.

Orwell explores the effect of language on judgment in "Politics and the English Language" where he relates a trend towards conventional expression in written English to a politically dangerous decline in clear thinking. He complains that rather than work to fit words to them, writers express their ideas in standard ways, using stock phrases like "bestial atrocities" or "stand shoulder to shoulder" ("Politics" 135). Writing done this way is composition by association; the writer simply pairs an idea with a ready-made, widely available phrase as if that phrase was the word formula peculiar to that idea. Orwell argues that the use of formulaic phraseology inevitably leads to a loss of political consciousness because the writer avoids the real work of writing: the analytical thought which inheres in the effort to describe an object in original terms.

Orwell's concern with the close referential relation between idea and expression in "Politics in the English Language" rests upon two premises: that there is an objective reality worth taking the trouble to describe and that the only legitimate purpose of language is to convey

truth. His examples of degenerate style are all ones in which some desire--ease of composition or the writer's wish to sound august--reduces the ability of language to convey a precise meaning. As a case in point, a writer can use a word like "democracy" to give his subject a "good" emotional flavor without committing himself to meaning. Orwell argues that the political danger of a "meaningless word" like "democracy" lies in the fact that writers use them because they are "almost completely lacking in meaning" ("Politics" 132).

Yet Orwell's criticism of style extends beyond the discussion of formulaic phraseology as the language of political deceit. Orwell believes "nearly all human beings feel that a thing becomes different if you call it a different name" (The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell 3: 166). He implies that the phrase is the unit of perception, whether connected as closely to objective reality as is "cat" or removed from reality as far as is "socialist" in "National Socialist German Worker's Party."

Therefore, Orwell's instinctual and intellectual judgments of English soldiers in The Road to Wigan Pier are linguistically distinct. The considered phrase is the unit of intellectual perception; it requires a struggle with word meanings in a search for the most apt

description of an object. It involves the creation of new metaphors, the effort to cut "out all stale or mixed images, all prefabricated phrases, needless repetitions, and humbug and vagueness generally," and, most importantly, the attempt to experience reality unmediated by the categories of one's given language ("Politics" 139). By contrast, the formulaic phrase is the unit of instinctual or unthinking perception. It acts as a kind of counter, allowing the mind to manipulate ideas while leaving them unexamined.

Viewed this way, "Politics and the English Language" is only ostensibly an essay on style; Orwell argues that formulaic phraseology is an obstacle to the writer's engagement with reality. He sees, then, a formulaic phrase like "bestial atrocity" and a formulaic idea like "the lower classes smell," at the opposite ends of a single continuum. "Bestial atrocity" is a conventional way to describe an event. Its form does not vary, but it is appropriate to many events. "The lower classes smell" describes a conventional attitude towards a group. The form of its expression varies with context, but it, as idea, remains attached to its object. Both are produced unthinkingly, by association, and both preclude engagement with reality.

But what specifically separates a formulaic phrase from a considered phrase, the language of instinct from the language of intellect? They share a similar grammar and appear in the same dictionary. In perhaps the most politically significant phrase of "Politics and the English Language," Orwell replaces "formulaic phraseology" with its social equivalent, suggesting that in "orthodox" writing substance and style are linked inseparably:

"Orthodoxy, of whatever colour, seems to demand a lifeless, imitative style" (135). The "orthodox" writer must use formulaic language; he must express established ideas in an already determined way. If the writer departs from the formula, if he attempts to write the insightful, forceful prose Orwell advocates in his essay, he will no longer be orthodox. Put another way, the inventive writer will lose membership in a club: the one composed of "orthodox" people. Formulaic language, the kind most inimical to objective judgment, has a predominantly communal, not referential purpose.

Thus, in "Politics and the English Language," Orwell sets the referential language of the intellect and the communal language of class instinct in rigid opposition. But this dipolar model is not his final conception of the relationship between them. A comparison of Orwell's portrayal of language in its using community in Burmese

Days and in 1984 shows that he discards the model he presents in "Politics and the English Language" in favor of a more complex one in which he ties the possibility of referential language to the morality of the working class.

In Orwell's Burmese Days and 1984, the communal uses of language predominate. As Graham Good argues in "Language, Truth, and Power in Orwell," both novels center upon an "official ideological discourse": "Imperialism in Burmese Days" and "Ingsoc in 1984" (56). The first purpose of any utterance is to confirm or establish the speaker's membership in an ideological community. The extent to which its referential meaning corresponds to reality is, at best, a secondary concern. For example, Elizabeth of Burmese Days sorts her experiences in relation to the caste to which she aspires, using "lovely" for "the expensive, the elegant, the aristocratic" and "beastly" for "the cheap, the low, the shabby, the laborious" (86). In 1984, the primacy of communal meaning is a characteristic of a word itself, in some cases, subsuming all referential meaning. The most graphic examples are those Newspeak words whose meaning varies according to their ideological use, depending on whether they are used to attack an opponent or defend a friend. "Blackwhite," a compound of opposite Oldspeak meanings, is a good example.

Applied to an opponent, it means the habit of impudently claiming that black is white, in contradiction of the plain facts. Applied to a Party member, it means a loyal willingness to say that black is white when Party discipline demands this. But it means also the ability to believe that black is white, and more, to know that black is white, and to forget that one has ever believed the contrary. (1984 175)

Although the languages of Burmese Days and 1984 are both ideological sign systems, formulaic codes which allow members of the elite to signal their loyalty to the community, they can be distinguished from each other. The difference Woodcock sees between the sources of elite solidarity in the novels, Ingsoc's "physical power" and Anglo-India's "amazingly inflexible public opinion" (90), applies as well to their languages. Newspeak is an imposed language, an organ of the government not natural to its community of users, created "not only to provide a medium of expression for the world-view and mental habits proper to the devotees of Ingsoc, but to make all other modes of thought impossible" (1984 246). By contrast, the Club-chatter of Burmese Days is an inherently traditional language, broadly based in its speaking community and drawing its meaning from custom and usage not government edict.

But is the imposed/traditional distinction that I raise between the languages a real one? The conventions which define word meaning and usage in the languages act

similarly to reduce the range of meanings appropriate to individual words. In Burmese Days, Elizabeth's "lovely" and "beastly," because she uses them as emblems of her class identity, reduce the possible number of her evaluative responses to two, precisely the number available to Newspeakers who use "good" or "ungood" in the same way. "Goodfellow" in Burma, like "goodthinker" in Oceania, approximates "orthodox" in meaning. But the prefix "good" restricts the range of the concept "orthodox" present in both words until it can apply only to the ruling elite. Thus the concept of a non-party or non-Anglo-Indian orthodoxy and with it, the concept of alternative ideas of "right" is impossible to express. Alternate orthodoxies, as concept, are subsumed within the meaning of "bad"/"ungood". The class-image Mrs. Lackersteen associates with "Nationalism," invariably a vision of her rape by a procession of Burmese coolies, subsumes within it other, more legitimate meanings of the word the way "sexcrime" in Newspeak places all unorthodox sex acts without differentiation into the same bin. However, despite the similar effect of social convention or ideology upon upon the languages' range of meaning, Club-chatter cannot be said to have a purpose in the sense Orwell uses when he speaks of the purpose of Newspeak in "The Principles of Newspeak," which appends 1984.

Club-chatter has its own integrity because it has no single master. For example, the government of Oceania need only issue a new dictionary to change Newspeak. By contrast, no act of Parliament can change the nature of discourse in Burma. Club-chatter is even more resistant to governmental interference than is the Kyauktada Club to the government's suggestion it admit native members. The point and pattern of Anglo-Indian speech are tied, as is every form of social interaction in Burma, to a shared community ethic--the "pukka sahib's code" (Burmese Days 66):

Keeping up our prestige,  
The firm hand (without the velvet glove),  
We white men must hang together,  
Give them an inch and they'll take an ell, and  
Esprit de Corps. (Burmese Days 181)

It is "the firm hand," the second "beatitude of the pukka sahib," that Ellis invokes when he calls the suppression of a native revolt at Amritsar a "pennyworth of pluck" (Burmese Days 31); the parliament, epitomized in Anglo-Indian eyes by Kipling's naive Mr. Pagett M.P., called it a massacre.

Orwell never directly compares Newspeak and Club-chatter. But he does compare their analogues, imperialism and totalitarianism, in "Rudyard Kipling". He drives religion like a wedge between Kipling's jingo-imperialist sensibility and the term "Fascist". Orwell argues that



the totalitarian believes that there is no sanction "greater than military power" ("Rudyard Kipling" 47). Kipling, he believes, sees imperialism as a sort of "forcible evangelizing" ("Rudyard Kipling" 47-8). To put the distinction another way, the religious underpinnings of imperialism are what one might call a distorted revelation that cannot be changed by the imperialist at his convenience. To espouse the imperialist program is to shoulder "the white man's burden," a peculiar, but rigid sense of social responsibility that restricts the scope of possible government action. The rulers of Oceania, on the other hand, believe that only power has value. They see no need for social responsibility. Because Club-chatter rests upon a moral foundation, it is more or less tinker-proof; Newspeak can change at the whim of the party elite.

Orwell, then, distinguishes between the formulaic codes of Burmese Days and 1984, seeing Club-chatter's attachment to a communal ethic as a kind of group insurance against the mutability of meaning that afflicts Newspeakers. But since he wrote "Politics and the English Language" to combat what he considered to be the very real chance of a totalitarian England, Orwell also considers referential language to be insurance against mutable meaning: one with the significant advantage that it carries no ideological cost. A further comparison of

Burmese Days and 1984 becomes useful here because, in them, as if they were case studies, Orwell examines the relationship of language to morality and the possibility of referential language independent of morality in imagined environments.

In "'Ingsoc in Relation to Chess': Reversible Opposites in Orwell's 1984," Graham Good develops a point for 1984 which suggests that neither Florey nor Winston are true revolutionaries. He argues that 1984 is "structured around a set of oppositions, like the Party vs. the Brotherhood, which are symmetrical and interchangeable" (50). Winston, for example, is both loyal writer for Minitrue who takes pride in a good job of falsification and revolutionary who keeps a diary to prove the party false. And Florey fits the same model. Unable to stomach the chatter of the club, he prefers the company of Dr. Veraswami, whom he trusts to listen to his private critique of imperialism. But Florey is no different than other Anglo-Indians; he is outwardly loyal to Anglo-India and the club. Indeed, Orwell characterizes every Anglo-Indian as outwardly loyal but privately disgusted with his fellows:

In the end the secrecy of your revolt poisons you like a secret disease. Your whole life is a life of lies. Year after year you sit in Kipling-haunted little Clubs, whiskey to right of you, Pink'un to left of you, listening and

eagerly agreeing while Colonel Bodger develops his theory that these bloody Nationalists should be boiled in oil. ...You are a creature of the despotism, a pukka sahib, tied tighter than a monk or a savage by an unbreakable system of tabus. (Burmese Days 66).

Is Florey's rebellion, as Good's principle suggests, simply an aspect of imperialism itself? Florey likens his talks with Dr. Veraswami to a "Black Mass" and, like a "Black Mass," their conversations follow a ritual (Burmese Days 41). Dr. Veraswami finds Florey deliciously seditious, taking the pleasure in his conversations with him that "a pious believer will take in hearing the Lord's Prayer repeated backwards" (Burmese Days 38). The character of Florey's seditious remarks do not go beyond the negation implicit in any, in this case Anglo-Indian, belief.

The apparently opposed discourses of Burmese Days, Club-chatter and the verbal rituals of Florey's "Black Mass," are simply the two sides of a single linguistic system, assertion and implicit negation, firmly grounded in the code of the pukka sahib. For Florey to have achieved a truly revolutionary discourse he would have had to sever his economic ties to imperialism, to discard his plan to endure ten or fifteen years of Burma for the sake of the fifteen thousand pounds that will establish his social station at retirement, in other words, to commit a

kind of class suicide (Burmese Days 67). Significantly, Florey kills himself and escapes Kyauktada only after he acknowledges that he can never realize his vision of paradise: a bungalow surrounded by tropical flowers tended by Elizabeth and "the impossible, mythical piano-symbol of everything that that futile accident [his embarrassment at the church] had wrecked" (Burmese Days 263). By suicide, he discards a class vision, a paradise decorated in classic Anglo-Indian style, furnished according to Anglo-Indian notions of the good, the pleasant, and the beautiful, which, like Orwell's "the lower classes smell," are coded in the mind as the formulaic phrases used associatively by the second seat of judgment.

Florey's experience suggests that Orwell finds an additional cultural trait inherent in the phrases of formulaic language. Language, or more specifically the formulaic phrases that make up a class dialect, encodes in its phrases a moral approach to experience which limits judgment within sharp boundaries: boundaries which can only be extended by the accession of new phrase forms. The accession of a new phrase by an individual is tantamount to a slight shift in moral stance, a process which appears first--remembering Orwell's opinions of the soldiers--at the level of the intellect and only gradually

affects instinctual reactions.

Orwell explores the same phenomena in 1984 but with a different character, one who is consciously trying to step outside the linguistic boundaries of his environment. Winston is a fiction writer for Minitrue. The simple fact that he must pick and choose from alternate phrases to do a proper job of historical forgery implies that he is capable of intellectual analysis, word choice, not just formulaic reasoning. In 1984, Winston searches for the objective view, for those bits of evidence that disprove the assertions of the party daily, and, later with Julia, for an emotional loyalty that cannot be swayed by self interest.

However, as a background to the consideration of Winston's rebellion, it is well to remember that 1984's pessimism, its despair, rests most firmly on the revelations that undercut its early, hopeful chapters. O'Brien has followed Winston's rebellion for seven years, for a period longer than Winston has known of it (1984 220). O'Brien's knowledge implies Winston's revolt is a predictable event.

If Winston's revolt is a predictable event, then how far does Winston stray from the party line? One need only recall his promises to O'Brien to establish the most important limit to the range of his political ideas.

Winston's revolt consists simply of a transfer of hate from Goldstein to Big Brother, not a repudiation of it. In pledging support to the Brotherhood, Winston agrees to murder, "to throw sulfuric acid in a child's face," to do anything so long as it serves to propel the Brotherhood to power (1984 142). Of course, at the time he does refuse to place anything before Julia, but his refusal is merely the distant echo of Julia's strident "no!" to a similar question (1984 142-3). Winston learns nothing ideologically during the course of his revolt; Goldstein's book simply systematizes things he has long known (1984 179). As Good argues, Winston's "achievement is more negative than creative"; he "can only fight the Party by adopting the same inhuman methods" and "can only hold his own linguistically by using the Party's forms: for every slogan a counterslogan ("Language, Truth, and Power in Orwell" 61).

It seems, then, that Winston is culturally and linguistically ill-equipped for his search for objective truth. He inevitably begins his search within the confines of his given language, the mix of Oldspeak and Newspeak that constitutes the party language of his time, hence, within the restricted linguistic and moral frame defined by the party. For example, when interviewing a Prole in search of an objective history, Winston can only

frame his questions in the terms of the party history he wishes to disprove, as negations of it, for he knows no other conceptual framework fitted to history. Because his efforts concentrate on disproving the party line, Winston misses the implication of the old man's reference to Speaker's Corner in Hyde Park--particularly that a man managed to call the labor party "'yenas'" and live (1984 77). Winston's life under the gaze of the telescreen--his every word, act, and facial expression watched for unorthodoxy--has limited the number of his modes of perception to one. It parallels that of the telescreen; he understands even the wind, as it teases the bottom of a loose poster not far from his house "alternately covering and uncovering the single word INGSOC" (1984 6), in terms of the party line.

Yet Winston does make one judgment without reference to ideology while looking at the washerwoman hanging clothes outside his window:

As he looked at the woman in her characteristic attitude, her thick arm reaching up for the line, her powerful marelike buttocks protruded, it struck him for the first time that she was beautiful. (1984 180).

He quickly generalizes his thought, reflecting that the "sky was the same for everybody" and that the Proles have a type of immortality--surviving against the odds like birds, "passing on from body to body the vitality which

the Party did not share and could not kill" (1984 181-2). Of course, the thought police break down his door a moment later, but this thought is the zenith of Winston's revolt. His notion seems very like what Orwell would demand as a founding principle of a post-party humanism--faith in some form of immortality. In an "As I Please," Orwell writes:

the real problem of our time is to restore the sense of absolute right and wrong when the belief that is used to rest on--that is, the belief in personal immortality--has been destroyed. (CEJL 3: 100)

More importantly, Winston's judgment is a referential one, based upon a close examination of the washerwoman's features. It belies the presence in Winston of the casual sense of superiority--stemming from the belief that the Proles are not human beings--that leads Syme to discount the linguistic influence of the Proles in the year 2050 (1984 47). It meets the requirement Orwell establishes in The Road to Wigan Pier for the abolishment of class distinctions: that the individual abandon class notions of good and evil and the ugly and the beautiful (161). Winston's judgment is independent of party habits of thought and phrasing and, therefore, represents a first step towards an independent morality and, implicitly, towards an independent ideology.



And Winston's new morality is neither an idle musing or an anomaly; Orwell prepares Winston and the reader for it using sex as a metaphor. Before meeting Julia, sex for Winston has been either a hated duty if done with his wife or a rut in the gutter if done with a Proletarian whore. Significantly, Winston's exposure to both of these sexual experiences, the first unsatisfying and the second furtive and degrading, has either overt or tacit party approval.

When Winston first meets Julia, he sees her in clearly political, specifically anti-party terms. She is a member of the Junior Anti-Sex League; her red belt of chastity determines Winston's attitudes towards her. Orwell transforms the relationship, by transforming Winston's image of Julia as events progress. Winston quickly finds that unlike his wife, another product of anti-sex training, Julia is an aggressively sexual being. Moreover, she wears scent, which party women do not wear, the same scent the disgusts Winston when he smells it during intercourse with a proletarian whore (1984 56). But on Julia, the scent attracts him (1984 118). As their relationship progresses, Winston begins to see Julia as a Prole and, through Julia, to see the Proles themselves in different terms.

In some respects, particularly her inability to spot the inconsistencies of party pronouncements when examined over time, Julia is a female Parsons. But Julia's party rank places her well within Orwell's definition of the proletariat in The Road to Wigan Pier (226). As with the washerwoman, Winston likens Julia to a bird; she is incapable of understanding Party ideology and swallows everything without harm "just as a grain of corn will pass undigested through the body of a bird" (1984 129). And like the Proles, Julia is capable of addressing her experience in a novel way; she blames the government, not the enemy, for the rocket bombs that strike London ( 1984 127). Julia exists outside the party line. She opposes the Party, but only because she begrudges the Inner Party their coffee (1984 226). Winston's relationship with her is a lesson in proletarian morality.

In contrast to Winston's experience, Florey never gains a sense of the proletarian moral view, although he has many contacts with native Indians: the proletarians of Anglo-India. At fault, is the language that Florey uses in conversation with Indians, actually the "babu English" that they use in conversation with him. The Indian that speaks English models his speech on that of his "betters," who together constitute a kind of Anglo-Indianspeak dictionary. Thus, when Florey converses with

an Indian, he is exposed to only a reflection of the lexical traditions of his own caste, not the language and morality of the proletariat. "Babu English," then is a derivative language, standing in stark contrast to the proletarian Oldspeak of 1984.

The peculiarities of Oldspeak in 1984 confirm the idea that Winston stepped toward a unique non-party discourse at the time of his arrest by the thought police and the moral shift inherent in it. Oldspeak is a real danger to party order. First, it preserves and extends knowledge of prerevolutionary concepts. "Wallop" may not be a current term in the pub Winston visits, but after his argument with the old man, the barman will remember both "wallop" and the pint measure it used to come in. The Proles Winston passes before entering the pub argue over lottery results based on the assumption that the past is immutable; they have their own records to prove it: a list of winning numbers for the past two years (1984 72). Second, while Newspeak contracts its vocabulary daily, Oldspeak is expanding. Proles still make the intellectual effort to match expression with reality in post-revolutionary London. The warning "Steamer! ... Bang o'erhead!" ( 1934 71) which prompts Winston to dive for the ground just in time to avoid a rocket bomb is a relatively new metaphor coined after the impact of the

first rocket bomb and after the revolution.

Ironically, the party decision to divorce Oldspeak from Newspeak relinquishes the very hold on language that ensures their power. Syme argues that by 2050

all real knowledge of Oldspeak will have disappeared... Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Byron--they'll exist only in Newspeak versions, not merely changed into something different, but actually changed into something contradictory of what they used to be. (1984 47)

The prediction becomes obviously significant if rephrased: in 2050 no party member will know the prerevolutionary significance of Oldspeak words. Syme's next remark confirms the rephrased construction. He argues "Freedom is Slavery" will be abolished because Newspeak will no longer contain the concept "freedom" (1984 47). In 2050, the party will be in mortal danger; should talk of "freedom" begin among the Proles, the party will no longer be able to recognize its significance.

But will "freedom" become a concern among the Proles? Disappointed to find what he hoped was a proletarian revolt was only a struggle over saucepans, Winston concludes a proletarian uprising is problematic. But the Proles have pubs--what Orwell calls a kind of working man's club (Wigan Pier 72). Like the membership of the Kyauktada club, who subscribe to the pukka sahib's code, members of the proletarian club must share common values.

And there are proletarian values to be shared. The proletariat in Oceania may only have access to machine-produced popular culture, but their acceptance of it is hardly mechanistic. They retain an aspect of aesthetic independence. Listening to the washerwoman, Winston is surprised that she turns "rubbish" into almost pleasant sound (1984 115). The song she sings long outlives the "Hate Song" the party offers as its successor (1984 180). Because Orwell believes taste to be a class attribute (Wigan Pier 161), the existence of a proletarian sensibility in Oceania implies the existence of proletarian values, values that, since the Proles are non-political, exist at the level of "gut feeling".

It is, finally, in "gut feeling" that Orwell finds a defense against totalitarian misuse of language in 1984, not in Winston's attempt to disprove totalitarian assertions by rational argument. To return to the "Hate Song" for a moment, its unpopularity is evidence that the Proles, as a community, reject combinations of Oldspeak phrases that seem inconsistent with their "gut feeling," with their sense of correctness. Thus, like Club-chatter, Oldspeak is a traditional formulaic language in which the arbiter of correctness in meaning and usage is the "gut feeling" of the community at large. In 1984, Orwell comes to terms with communal language finding in proletarian

communal language the guarantee he seeks against mutable meaning.

But Orwell does not abandon faith in the forceful metaphor of "Politics and the English Language" entirely for the linguistic security he gains from the proletarian formula phrase. Oldspeak has a second advantage for Orwell. Unlike Orwell when marching in company with British soldiers, the Oldspeaker marches among the other ranks, without the conflict between intellectual judgment and upper-class "gut feeling". For the Oldspeaker, intellectual judgment and "gut feeling" coincide; he faces a harsh reality that precludes class based pretense and, daily, forces him to acknowledge that  $2+2=4$ . Orwell, as always, finds life most vivid and language most true among the down and out.

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